

Message Text

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 STOCKH 00808 171339Z

53

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 IO-11 SAJ-01 CIAE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 /081 W

----- 116048

R 171140Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6790

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION USUN

DIA WASHDC

USCINCEUR VAINGEN GERMANY

AMEMBASSY VALLETTA UNN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STOCKHOLM 0808

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, SW, IT, XT

SUBJECT: SWEDISH VIEWS ON SOCIALIST-COMMUNIST COPPERATION

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 STOCKH 00808 171339Z

REF: (A) STOCKHOLM A-30 (NOTAL), (B) ROME 1560, (C) PARIS 4339

1. AN ARTICLE THIS WEEK IN THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC DAILY ARBETET ON THE THEME OF SOCIALIST-COMMUNIST COOPERATION IN WESTERN EUROPE IS AN INTERESTING CONTRIBUTION TO THE EUROPEAN SOCIALIST DIALOGUE ON THIS ISSUE UNDERWAY SINCE THE HELSINGOR MEETING. ARBETET IS CONSIDERED THE SWEDISH NEWSPAPER CLOSEST TO THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, AND IS FREQUENTLY USED BY PRIME MINISTER PALME WHEN HE WISHES TO MAKE PRONOUNCEMENTS ON PARTY IDEOLOGY.

2. THE ARBETET EDITORIAL IS INTERESTING ON TWO COUNTS. FIRST, IT QUESTIONS THE SINCERITY OF THE WEST EUROPEAN COMMUNISTS' PROCLAIMED WILLINGNESS TO ABIDE BY THE RULES OF THE DEMOCRATIC GAME IF THE SOCIALISTS AGREE TO COOPERATE WITH THEM. AS ARBETET POINTS OUT, THE QUESTION IS WHETHER "CERTAIN COMMUNIST PARTIES HAVE CHANGED ENOUGH TO BE ACCEPTED BY SOCIALISTS AND SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AS PARTNERS IN A DURABLE COLLABORATION." NOTING THAT THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY HAS NOW PROFESSED ITS SUPPORT FOR PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY, THE EDITORIAL ADDS: "HOWEVER, IT IS NOT EASILY DONE FOR AN OLD STALINIST AND MOSCOW FAITHFUL PARTY TO PRESENT ITSELF AS A DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF ANY TYPE."

3. SECONDLY, THE EDITORIAL ALLUDES TO A POINT MADE EXPLICITLY BY EMBASSY ROME IN ITS ANALYSIS OF THE THEME OF SOCIALIST-COMMUNIST COOPERATION, I.E. HOW THE ITALIAN COMMUNISTS HAVE SUCCESSFULLY PROJECTED AN EXAGGERATED IMAGE OF OPEN DEFIANCE OF MOSCOW WHICH THE FACTS DO NOT JUSTIFY. ARBETET PUTS IT AS FOLLOWS: "PARTY LEADER BERLINGUER IS A MASTER INCOMBINING LIBERAL AND DOGMATIC STATEMENTS. IN ONE OF HIS LATEST INTERVIEWS, HE ASSERTS THAT HIS PARTY IS NOT CONNECTED TO ANY OTHER PARTY OR TO ANY OTHER STATE. BUT AT THE SAME TIME HE IS SUPPORTING THE 'PERSISTENCE OF THE SOVIET UNION FOR DETENTE AND PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE.' THIS STATEMENT COULD NOT HAVE BEEN BETTER FORMULATED BY AN EAST EUROPEAN COMMUNIST LEADER."

4. I FIND THE ARBETET COMMENTS REFRESHINGLY FREE OF THE KIND OF FOGGY WISHFULNESS THAT TRUSTINGLY ACCEPTS THE FRENCH AND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 STOCKH 00808 171339Z

ITALIAN COMMUNIST LEADERS' PROFESSIONS OF ADHERENCE TO PARLIAMENTARY PRACTICES. AS WE HAVE NOTED, SOME SOCIALIST LEADERS, IN THE NORDIC COUNTRIES AS ELSEWHERE, HAVE SEIZED UPON THE COMMUNIST PROTESTATIONS OF FAITH IN DEMOCRATIC VALUES AS REMOVING THE LAST BARRIERS TO SOCIALIST COOPERATION WITH THE COMMUNISTS IN POPULAR FRONT GOVERNMENTS. IT IS, HOWEVER, JUST POSSIBLE THAT THE EUROPEAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC RANK AND FILE, TESTED BY THE STRUGGLE FOR THE ALLEGIANCE OF THE WORKING MASSES AND THE

NO-HOLDS-BARRED COMPETITION WITH THE COMMUNISTS, ARE HAVING
SECOND THOUGHTS ABOUT THE WORTH OF TACTICAL ALLIANCES
WITH THE COMMUNISTS, AND THAT THEIR CONCERNS HAVE FILTERED UP TO
THE LEADERSHIP.

5. I DO NOT CLAIM THAT THIS REASSERTION OF REALISM ON THE PART
OF THE LEADING SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC ORGAN IN SWEDEN IS DUE TO OUR
DEMARCHES TO SWEDISH LEADERS BEFORE AND AFTER THE HELSINGOR
MEETING. YET, I AM CONVINCED THAT OUR EFFORTS, AND THOSE OF
MY COLLEAGUES IN OTHER KEY EUROPEAN CAPITALS, TO PERSUADE OUR
HOST COUNTRY LEADERS TO BEWARE OF COMMUNISTS BEARING GIFTS,
HAS AT LEAST ENCOURAGED THEM TO EXAMINE SKEPTICALLY COMMUNIST
CLAIMS OF CONVERSION TO DEMOCRACY, AND TO REFER THEMSELVES TO
THE HISTORICAL RECORD: SUPERFICIAL CHANGES IN THE STYLE OF
WEST EUROPEAN COMMUNISM HAVE NEVER WATERED DOWN THE ESSENCE
OF COMMUNISM, NAMELY, ITS UNALTERABLE OPPOSITION TO DEMOCRATIC
PLURALISM. AS WE HAVE OFTEN POINTED OUT TO PRIME MINISTER
PALME AND OTHER SWEDISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LEADERS, WHILE IT IS
INTELLECTUALLY INTRIGUING TO SPECULATE ABOUT THE COMMUNIST
BEHAVIOR IN A POPULAR FRONT GOVERNMENT, THE VERY REAL POSSIBILITY
THAT, ONCE IN POWER, THEY MIGHT ULTIMATELY DESTROY THE
DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS THEY HAVE AVOWED TO PRESERVE, MAKES
SUCH EXPERIMENTATION DANGEROUS INDEED. AS MARCHAIS HAS PUT
IT: COMMUNISM "IS NOT JUST A COLLECTION OF DOGMAS." INDEED,
IT IS A METHODOLOGY FOR GETTING THE KEEPING POWER. I SHARE
FULLY THE VIEW OF EMBASSY BELGRADE THAT NO COMMUNIST PARTY
WILL MAKE THE BASIC CONCEPTUAL CHANGE REQUIRED TO SHARE POWER
ON A PERMANENT BASIS. WHATEVER MIGHT BE THE PATHOLOGICAL
TRAITS OF THE COMMUNIST PSYCHE, THE SUICIDAL INSTINCT IS NOT
AMONG THEM. EMBASSY POUCHING FULL TEXT OF ARBETET ARTICLE TO
DEPARTMENT.

STRAUSZ HUPE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptoning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PRESS COMMENTS, SOCIALISM, COMMUNISM, PARTY ALLIANCE
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 17 FEB 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: morefirh
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976STOCKH00808
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760058-1074
From: STOCKHOLM
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760242/aaaabkuw.tel
Line Count: 146
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 76 STOCKHOLM A-30, 76 PARIS 4339
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: morefirh
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 26 MAR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <26 MAR 2004 by ElyME>; APPROVED <01 JUL 2004 by morefirh>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SWEDISH VIEWS ON SOCIALIST-COMMUNIST COPPERATION LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, SW, IT, XT
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006